## 12. Succession of Command

635 Like the royal office, the position of provincial chief is hereditary. It is assigned by the chief to one of his sons whom he considers most worthy to succeed him. It may happen that he may at the same time become chief of the clan, but it is not always so (1), for the family and the clan are social entities that are distinct

1. Cf. the example quoted in Personal Status, The Head of the Family and of the Clan, p. 6.

from political units.

The new chief must come and announce his father's death to the Mwami, bringing him a yo kubika cow, (lit., which announces death). On the other hand, he receives some indabukirano from his people and his friends.

622 The chiefs other than the abatware are appointed by the latter and confirmed in their functions by the Mwami.

## 13. Taxes and Forced Labor

651 Along with the civil obligations derived from the ubugaragu
466 contract, there are others due to the chiefs as such.

A. Obligations Due to the Hill Chief.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu of the igisonga must bring the latter once a year a large basket of sorghum (urutete) and a small basket of beans (ipfukire). Formerly, they were also required to cultivate the chief's fields (ubuletwa or uruharo) (2), to build and main-

2. In 1924 this custom was modified by the authorities in order to improve the lot of the Muhutu, who now give only two days of work out of seven.

tain each a part of the chief's rugo (kubak'inkike), and to act as messenger (gutumwa). Finally, the igisonga keeps a group of five

466 651 [101] men (intizo) for his personal needs and puts the remainder at the disposal of the provincial chief, who uses them either for building or repairing ingo belonging to the Mwami or his family, or else for work on the roads, etc.

The forced labor of kubak'inkike and gutumwa falls also on the simple Batutsi who are not the chief's clients (1).

1. The Batutsi obviously unload these obligations on their servants or their clients.

The chief's Bahutu and Batutsi abagaragu do not owe the ubuletwa. They are called ibyanga mibyizi (lit., those who refuse work). But they must bring the urutete and the ipfukire. In addition, the forced labor of kubak'inkike and of gutumwa falls on them also(2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

by virtue of the ubugaragu contract.

All the Bahutu must in turn watch each night in the igisonga's rugo (okulalira) and provide the necessary wood for heat and cooking.

B. Obligations Due to the Provincial Chiefs and the Abachibiri.

The Bahutu who are not abagaragu owe them the urutete, the ipfukire, and also the ubuletwa for every two days out of seven. When the performance of this last obligation is difficult or even impossible because of the distance, the Bahutu replace it by bringing the produce of their cultivations (sorghum, peas, beans, Eleusine, and cush-cush). This tax is called ibihunikwa (lit., that which is put in the granary).

The Bahutu clients are only subject to the uretete and the ipfukire.

651 The ordinary Batutsi have the obligations of kubak'inkike, gutumwa, and kubyukurutsa, that is to say, of giving cows called imbyukuruke (2)

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 49.

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On account of this fame,[a] the Bakoma have been entrusted with the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage," a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

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In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).

1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

a [i.e., of being descended from the best SORCEROR. —Analyst]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42



without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

## 4. LABOUR

Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.